carried into town and hung from metal hooks on a wall between two shops. By ten o'clock in the morning the butcher's day is finished, and, aside from the slaughtering-place and the sales' display on hooks, he has no other place of business. Only two or three animals are killed each day, always sheep or goats, because cattle, in their utility in agriculture and the impossibility of profitably disposing of so large a quantity of meat, are almost never killed. The butchers purchase their animals from villagers or _xutshir_, and sell the dressed meat to their patrons. All parts of the beast are disposed of, if not by humans, then by dogs, and by noon the slaughtering-place is bare, save for a few blackened stains of blood on the gravel. The butchers' greatest days of business occur on the first days of the feasts of _Jeyjani Remzan_ (the _'Aíd el-seghir_, "the lesser feast," which ends the fast of Ramadan on the first days of the tenth lunar month) and _Jeyjani Qurban_ (the _'Aíd el-kebir_, "the greater feast," which begins on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month) when every family able to afford the expense has a sheep or a goat slaughtered in sacrifice. Most households purchase their animals in advance, keeping them in the houseyard until the day of the feast.

That the fishermen and the hunter are only seasonally employed has already been noticed. They offer their respective catches in the _bazar_ at large, or go from door to door among the wealthier households. Villagers with _shikar_

last point, as it is with builder, cobbler, or any other workman, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the skirmish of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing of small children and women is made within the home, either by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of men's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into men's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the men of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is relatively inexpensive (a man's woolen jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three dinars, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at least the children of every house appear at the feast which ends Ramadan, Jejlani Ramazan, in clean, new garments, and

tailors, seamstresses and mothers are busy during the days preceding the celebration in their preparation, something which resembles our own habit of appearing in new clothing on Easter. 294 955 796

As in the case of seamstresses, a number of women belonging to the poorer households find casual employment as laundresses to those who can afford the expense. There is no specific "wash day," just as there are no fixed periods in the home for changing clothing or linen. A laundress may be called whenever enough soiled clothing warrants her appearance. Almost every larger dwelling contains a tank or tub, usually submerged in the level of the court, for a multiplicity of purposes, among them washing dishes, bathing infants, and laundry. For washing, coarse laundry soap obtained from the general merchants (no domestic soap is made) is used, or water alone. Such laundering involves pounding and wringing on the stones beside the tank, and garments washed too often in this fashion soon show signs of wear. In one's experience, a handerchief, which had withstood perhaps two years of cleansing in the United States, rapidly deteriorated after two trips to the laundress in Rowanduz, and it was similar with other items of apparel. Appreciative of this, laundry is not done by the townspeople with the regularity known in Northern Europe or America. Dry cleaning is unknown, and, to their chagrin, the woolen suits of the officials go into the tank with everything else. One such official, a Baghdadi by origin, possessed a suit with two pairs of trousers, one 296 [352] [415] [388]

are often unrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertainment. 521 [628]

Conversation is also the principal source of amusement for the woman, although, in the case of women of the upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chieftains, and the government elite, it is confined to the privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip freely with one another on the streets or within the woman's mosque. Unlike the men, among whom it commands primary interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman, and they are occupied with matters which seem to have greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accompanied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but public festivals, with music and dancing, provide throughout the year the only outstanding entertainment known by all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at any season. The religious feasts, Jarjani Ramazan and Jarjani Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and take place at a different time, several weeks earlier, each year. The Sayran festivals always come in the spring, and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious sacred origin has led one to discuss them with religious life. 574 527 796 527

Such festivals are marked by dancing and music, and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual type of dance is that of the sha'i, the wedding celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, saypay'i, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," shapay'i, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and raw'in "walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowandus played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Rowandus. Once the eldest daughter presented a request that "the beg tell the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

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about the sun, it falls short several weeks each year in relation to solar reckoning. 1953, for example, is 1372 years after the flight in Muslim calculation and only 1331 in our own. The terminology of this calendar is Arabic, although the Kurds have their own words for the days of the week and the seasons. The government uses both the Muslim and the Gregorian systems, and Friday is the weekly holiday. Turning to the Muslim festivals observed by the townspeople, the first occurs on the tenth day of the first lunar month (Muharram), the legendary date of many important events, particularly the martyrdom of Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet. In Shiite areas this day and those immediately preceding it furnish the occasion for the most extravagant ceremonies, including a dramatic recitation of the martyrdom and public displays of mourning in which the participants often beat and lacerate themselves. In Rowanduz, however, it is only a day for special prayer and meditation. "The people pray for Hasan and Husayn," it was said, "but there are no demonstrations of grief." The next important date is the Mawlid al-Nabi, "the birthday of the Prophet," which comes on the twelfth day of the third month (Rabi' al-Awal). This is a day of celebration on which banquets are held and the servants are given small presents, but the display is not great compared with the two festivals to follow.

The ninth lunar month, Ramadan, is that in which absolute fasting is required between sunrise and sunset of every Muslim. It begins on the eve in which the moon

appears, and, although elaborately printed calendars of the month offering astronomical data are sent out to the villages and towns by pious persons of wealth or commercial establishments in Baghdad, the townspeople prefer the evidence of their own eyes. One is supposed to fast, taking neither food nor water, from that time in the early morning when the colours of a black and white thread can be discerned until the moon is perceptible in the evening. On a hill above the town an old iron cannon, said to have belonged to Kor Pasha, is half-buried in the dirt, and its muzzle, pointing out into the valley, is tied between two short poles. For some weeks previous to the first evening of this month, the barber and darwish, Hajji Mustafa, had collected a great quantity of rags and taken charge of a donation of black gunpowder. On the eve a large crowd of children gathered on the hill near the gun, and cheered and sung while Hajji Mustafa cavorted before them, loading the necessary powder and a charge of rags. When he received a signal from the roof of the mosque, relayed from the mulla, the cannon was fired and the children roared their approval. "My gun," Hajji Mustafa boasted proudly, "can be heard in Erbil." The weapon is fired on each evening until the end of the month, and serves to indicate when the townspeople may break their fast. During the nights of Ramadan, there is much visiting and many banquets during the first few weeks. The shops are open late at night, and the streets are lighted with lanterns.

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Twice during the night, Hajji Mustafa makes a round of the streets, drumming loudly on his giant tambourine. At various points he stops and shouts, Salawat, salawat 'ala al-Nabi, "Prayers, prayers for the Prophet," and in between these stages he sings various songs in Kurdish of his own devising. These two parades are to inform people that they may arise and enjoy another meal before sunrise, but, inasmuch as Hajji Mustafa and the pack of dogs which follows him make a great uproar, there is a certain amount of discontent. "Curse Hajji," the investigator's landlord grumbled, as he rose from his bed in the courtyard. 785 796 [203] [533]

Four weeks of absolute fasting between sunrise and sunset are not without hardship, particularly for those who must continue to labor. It is considered improper to smoke on the streets, and only one tea-shop, carefully masked, is allowed to remain open during the day. A number of persons make no pretence of keeping the fast, although they do not demonstrate this fact in public, and others, beginning with good resolve, fall from grace after a number of days. It is interesting that Hajji Mustafa, the person who fires the evening gun and makes the nocturnal announcements, the "religious fanatic," for want of a better terms, did not feel bound by such restraints, considering that his extraordinary relationship with God absolved him from the ordinary demands of the faith. Quarrels and fights are more frequent during Ramadan than any other season of the year, and there are "secret eaters" [579]

who suffer from guilty conscience. As a concession to the faith, the government elite foreswear their drinking and gambling parties. Many persons suffer greatly in keeping the fast, and one may exchange greetings with a number whose throats were so parched by afternoon they could barely speak. The younger children and the ill, it might be noted, are not required to fast. The twenty-seventh evening of the month (Arabic, Laylat al-Qadir, "the Night of Power," in which the Prophet was first addressed by the Angel Gabriel) is marked by special prayers and devotional exercises. 785 796

The month of fasting is ended by the appearance of the new moon, and this sight begins Jayjani Ramazan (Arabic, 'Ayd al-saghir, "the Lesser Feast"), the festival which occupies the first three days of the tenth month (Shawwal). This is an occasion of the greatest festivity. Almost every family has purchased a sheep or a goat in advance, and these are slaughtered. Their flesh is used in banquets or given to the extremely poor. Everyone in the household puts on their finest attire, and the children receive new clothing and gifts. Presents of money and food are given by the wealthy to their servants and the poor. Family gatherings, accompanied by the largest and best meal the household can afford, take place, and there is public dancing. 796 527 [574] [431] [535]

The last festival of the Muslim year observed in Rowanduz is Jayjani Qurban (Arabic, 'Ayd al-kabir, "the Greater Feast") which begins on the tenth day of the 796

twelfth lunar month (Dhu al-Hijja). This corresponds to 796
the day at Mecca when the pilgrims assembled there are ritually
sacrificing an animal at Mina outside the city. Every family
in Rowanduz who can afford the expense purchases a sheep [792]
or goat for a sacrifice in communion with the pilgrims on
the first day of Jayjani Qurban, and the head of the victim
is turned toward Mecca as its throat is cut. This feast
lasts three or four days, and is identical in character
with that ending Ramadan, although perhaps lacking some of
the intense exuberance caused by the end of the fast. Dur-
ing both of these festivals, persons greet each other
cheerily, and the atmosphere is similar to that of our own
Christmastide.

Apart from the lunar Muslim calendar, two observances 527
must be mentioned which are reckoned by the solar year.
The first of these is Sayran or Sayrani Bahar (also
identified in Rowanduz as Kara Charshima, "Black Wednesday," [805]
in border Turkish and as Nawruz in Persian). This corres-
ponds to the season of the Vernal Equinox, usually
occurring in the last weeks of March, and in antique usage
the beginning of the New Year. The connection of the
celebrations with paganism is obvious and need not be
explored here. "In the spring every Wednesday for several
weeks is supposed to be a holy day," it was said, although
there was no verbal reference to any religion, Muslim or
otherwise. On these Wednesdays, the townspeople, both men
and women, go out into the countryside in family parties,
taking food and drink with them. The day is passed out of

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our poorhouse of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so[11], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connexion with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sure 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the *sūq* and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Din. (say £200)[12].

In the same way that the returned male pilgrims mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *sārpēl*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town.

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'idil-l-qurbân* or *qurbân bairâm*, that is spent in Minî on the return from 'Arafât to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (not Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to use the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connexion with these days, or not, I was unable to discover.

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounds, *Safâ* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Minâ where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 13, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the river near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canals. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings.

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957). For pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Minâ. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Mina* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last encirclement around the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish woman:

When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 350 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

takes place after sundown, since there should be a fast observed during the day in Ramadan month — as a matter of fact, this fast is observed by very few. However, this degree of Ramadan celebration is not usual. The last three days of that month, on the other hand, are universally regarded as holidays, and serve as formal occasion for forgiving enemies, affirming village loyalties, and reinforcing ties of friendship.

Ramadan is defined in terms of a year of lunar months, and thus falls some days earlier in relation to the seasons for every year. At the time of the present fieldwork, the end of Ramadan coincided roughly with the completion of the harvest; it is difficult to say which aspects of the proceedings were connected with the one, as distinct from the other event. The celebration on the main, first day consisted of four major phases: (1) religious service (2) formal communal meal (3) payment of tax to the mosque (4) informal social celebrations.

The religious service was led by the son of the mullah of the neighboring village, since the village in which I was staying at the time had no mullah of its own. It was held in the house of the *Hadji*, the actual leader and *kikha* of the village. The local derwish, reacting to the presence of only an un-ordained officiator, tried to assert himself by interjecting loud and pious exclamations, but was soon quieted down as the mullah's son speeded on through the text.

After the ritual followed the communal meal, supplied by the *Hadji*, and his prestige profited by a subtle balance between the conspicuous exhibition of plenty tempered with a pious avoidance of over-indulgence. Two of the lower-class laborers, who had been figeting and feeling out of place, took the opportunity to busy themselves by serving the tea; but the *Hadji* insisted upon their status as guests, and they were quickly relieved by a young son, whom he called in for the purpose. Before the meal, hands were kissed (with a tendency towards reciprocity only between social equals or very close kin), misunderstandings forgotten and grudges forgiven. After the meal, some small boys appeared and kissed the hands of all the men present.

This being completed, the heads of village households each pledged

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

a tax of three kg. of grain to the mosque for each household member. This is done by each of the men in turn seating himself before the mullah, with a symbolic tray of grain between them. The men follow one another in a descending order of prestige, involving public acceptance and confirmation of the actual hierarchy of individuals in the village. At one or two points there was some hesitation, and very elusive momentary pressures were brought to bear by the group on the actors to assure the «right» sequence. This occasion also gave the *Hadji* an opportunity to affirm his leading position in the village by pledging 3.5 kg. pr. person to the mosque, and with a grand gesture paying for a poor widow in the village, not represented by any male, as well as for my interpreter, who, not being of the village, did not dispose of any grain.

At the completion of this, the group dispersed. Later in the day, the landowner appeared, and people also from the neighboring villages drifted in in informal groups and congregated in a large circle in the courtyard of the house in which he was staying. For the remaining period, celebrations involved only smaller, informal groups and individual visiting.

— I have chosen to describe this occasion in some detail, since it was observed under favorable conditions and illustrates the situation in which the hierarchy of individuals in the village is expressed, and how the individual's rating of himself is confirmed or contradicted by the group. Other religious festivals serve an essentially similar function, though they may in part be more amenable to manipulation and «social climbing». For example, two months ten days after Ramadan follows *Qorbani*, the feast of sacrifice, lasting four days, and centering around the killing of a large animal — sheep or preferably cow. Any person may volunteer to do Qorbani, and offer his cow up — though there are probably informal controls on who may in fact presume to that extent. *Maolud*, Mohammed's birthday, is similarly celebrated by a semi-communal feast and conspicuous consumption; the various other holidays are of a more private kind.

Rites de passage. The various rites marking transitions in the status position of individuals through their life cycle are less formally controlled. They are communal in a different sense from the ritual-